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THE GEATS OF BEOWULF

It is a curious fact that the people most prominently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon epic poetry are not yet certainly identified. As late as 1907 the nationality of the Geats was still being discussed, and even to-day the question would seem to be an open one.

Most scholars have assigned the Geats of *Beowulf* to the Swedish province of Götland, which apparently was an independent state up to the middle of the sixth century. On the other hand, very few of the early *Beowulf* scholars held the opposite view that the Geats were inhabitants of the Danish peninsula of Jutland; among them may be mentioned R. T. Hampson in England, H. Leo in Germany, and F. J. Schalldemose in Denmark, none of whom made their opinions a subject for serious argument.

In recent times, however, the identification of the epic Geats and the historical Jutes has been defended in a thoroughly scientific way. Pontus Fahlbeck, for instance, a renowned Swedish historian, wrote in 1884 a treatise on "The Beowulf as a Source for Ancient Northern History"¹ in which he contended that the Geats could not have been inhabitants of Götland, but must have dwelt in Jutland. Admitting that Geats ordinarily means Göts, inhabitants of Sweden, he points out that in some dialects it means also Jutes. This point, in the opinion of the present writer, has been somewhat overvalued. A nation's name may be easily changed. In the cycle of the Nibelungs, to note a striking example, the Nibelungs are generally named Burgundians and their antagonists, the Völsungs, are commonly called Franks; but in the poem of *Waltharius* these designations have been shifted, and during the wandering of the story through Scandinavia, the Nibelungs are occasionally made Danes and Swedes. May not a similar confusion have arisen in regard to the Geats? If such be the case, we had better turn from the name itself to a consideration of the geographical details in the text of Beowulf. It is to Fahlbeck's credit that he was the first

¹ Beovulfsqvädet såsom källa för nordisk fornhistoria, *Antiquarisk tidskrift för Sverige*, VIII, 2.

to recognize the importance of this point of view. His conclusions have been adopted by several scholars, notably by Steenstrup in his contribution to "Danmarks Riges Historie." We shall follow the summary of Fahlbeck's views which was recently presented by Axel Olrik at a meeting of the "Philologisk historisk Samfund" in Copenhagen.

The first thing to do, says Olrik, is to examine the collective evidence bearing on the nationality and geography of the nation in question. Fortunately we may begin here with a few more or less generally accepted identifications. As early as 1816, Grundtvig identified the Geatic hero Hygelác with the historical king Chochilaicus mentioned by Gregory of Tours as reigning about the year 520; perhaps, too, Hygelác may be identified with king Huglethus, mentioned by Saxo (IV, 175). The Swedes Ónthere, Onela, and Eádgils of *Beowulf* have been generally equated with the Swedes Óttar, Áli, and Áthils of *Inglingatal*. In the light of these identifications, now, we should keep in mind the following facts:

1. The Gallo-Roman Gregory of Tours, historian of the Franks, was born only about forty years after the expedition of Chochilaicus, king of the Danes,—the Hygelác of *Beowulf*.

2. The Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, preserved in a manuscript of the tenth century, was composed about the year 700. Hygelác in this poem is king of the Geats, which may in some dialects be equivalent to Jutes. The Geats are called also Wederas, which is most probably equivalent to Eudoses, neighbours of the Angles and their fellows in the cult of Nerthus.² The Geats are intimate allies of the Danes. Whereas their stories are recorded with the most friendly and minute interest by the Anglo-Saxons, whose epics have never put on record a single deed or person undoubtedly Gótic, of the Swedes only those are mentioned who had something to do with Geatic affairs.—The Geats undertake a great expedition against Gaul as the Jutes often did, together with Saxons or insular Danes, whereas no such expedition is ever heard of in the case of the Góts. The Geats, in return, are threatened by the Franks of Gaul as the Jutes repeatedly were from the

² See Tacitus, *Germania*, Ch. 40. For correspondence of We and Eu compare the old Teutonic tribe called Vithungi, Iuthingi, Euthingi. S voiced would develop into R.

sixth to the ninth century. The Franks are accordingly thought of as neighbors to the Geats, *not* separated from them by the sea. The Geats are constantly fighting the Swedes, just as the Jutes must have been doing in the eighth and ninth centuries, when a swarm of Swedish invaders settled in South Jutland near the town of Slesvig under kings of their own, Gnupa and Sigtrygg; but from the country of the Swedes the Geats seem to have been *separated by the sea*.

3. The Danish author Saxo, living in the twelfth century, calls Huglethus king of the Danes. This information is recorded among traditions intimately concerning the Jutes, and we learn further only that Huglethus engaged in a contest with two Swedes, (h) ömoth and (h) ögrim,³ whom he conquers at sea.

4. In the *Ynglingatal* of the Norwegian author Þjóðholfr enn hvínverski, composed about the ninth or tenth century, we learn that the Jutes of Skjoldungian times (sometimes called Danes) are constantly fighting with the Swedes, among whom Óttar is named as an active participator, whereas his son Áthils, "the foe of Áli," is mentioned only by the way.⁴ Battles are mentioned in this work as taking place in the Limfjord and in Vendel (the Jutlandic district of that name?); the Swedes make attacks over the sea.

5. In modern Jutland, names of persons and places may in some cases be plausibly identified with Geatic names in *Beowulf*. Hugle-stath, mentioned in the Schleswig by-law as an important place of customs on the southern frontier of South Jutland, is very likely the present Hollingsted near the river Eider.⁵ Again, a name still used for persons, Howli in western Jutland, Holli in South Jutland, is probably to be derived from Huglek, a Danish form of Hygelác.⁶

In summary of the above it may be said that we have

³ Danish ö corresponds to Anglo-Saxon ea. Compare Hygelác's son and successors fighting with the Swedes Eanmund and Eádgils in the *Beowulf*.

⁴ Compare Óhthere, his son Eádgils and brother Onela in the *Beowulf*.

⁵ This identification is suggested by H. V. Clausen.

⁶ No parallels have hitherto been found in Götland or elsewhere on the Swedish peninsula; there are none on the rune-stones collected by Liljegren, Run-urkunder, or in M. F. Lundgren's collection of mediæval Swedish names in "Svenska Landsmålen" (1892ff).

traditions from four different nations—Franconian, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norwegian—extending from the very time of the events in question to some 600 years after; that there are no traces of literary inter-communication; and that the records are quite consistent, unanimously speaking of Danes or Jutes, or of neighbors of the Franks separated from the Swedes by the sea. Such are the most important arguments set forth by Fahlbeck and his adherents. Now let us look at the arguments advanced by their opponents.

Important pleas have been made by the lamented Swedish archæologist Knut Stjerna, especially in his "Svear och Göter under folkvandringstiden," published in "Svenska fornminnes föreningens tidskrift," Bd. 12, 339; 1905. Other discussions of note are by H. Schück, particularly that presented in his "Folknamnet Geatas i den fornengelska dikten Beowulf," published in the "Upsala Universitets Årsskrift" 2, 1907. The most important objections of these two scholars to the arguments advanced above may now be considered.

1. A MS. of the fables of Phaedrus, dating from about the tenth century, contains an addition concerning the "Getic" giant Huiglacus, who was killed near the mouth of the Rhine and buried on a neighboring island. Here we are no doubt confronted with the true Geatic Hygelác, remembered in Frisian or Franconian tradition. The only question is how to interpret the name "Geti." The most obvious interpretation would be: Geti= Goti. In a song dating from about 560 Venantius Fortunatus calls a Goth "Geta." After Jordanis published his "Getica" or history of the Goths, the fusion of Geti and Goti became international in literary usage, just as the Danes were called by the antique term, "Daci." And "Goti," further, would seem to be Göts, if anything.⁷

2. Danes, in Franconian tradition as elsewhere, could mean Scandinavians generally, including the Göts. Since Gregory knew the Danes from their expedition in the year 560, when they were defeated near Bordeaux, he might easily have used their name instead of a less well known tribe name from their neighborhood (Schück, p. 29, 30).

⁷ See Schück, "Folknamnet," p. 31.

3. Wederas, the surname of the Geats, might point to the "Väderöar" ("Weather-islands") near the coast of Bohuslän and North Halland, districts both of which formerly belonged to Western Götland. Taken as a whole, the topographical details of the Geatic country, such as cliffs etc., agree with Götland better than with Jutland (Schück, 25ff.).

4. The Geatic state is independent of the Danish just as Götland was, whereas no independent Jutlandic state was ever heard of (Schück, 31).

5. If the Geats had not only been the good friends of the Danes, but had also lived on Danish ground, we should have expected Danish tradition to take a keen interest in the Geatic-Swedish conflict, but of this there is no trace. Danish tradition has a list of Swedish kings differing altogether from those mentioned in *Beowulf* and *Ynglingatal* (Stjerna).

6. The Geatic-Swedish conflict, on the other hand, was sufficiently important and dramatic to interest even the Anglo-Saxons, for it was a struggle between life and death, ending with the ruin of Geatic independence and the absorption of the Götlic state into Sweden. (Stjerna).

7. If the Geats had been Jutes we should have expected a close intercourse with the Saxons and Bards, but of this there is no trace in *Beowulf*. (Schück 41, 42).

8. The account of the Franks threatening the Geats is not as significant as the account of the relations between Geats and Swedes. The former might easily have been interpolated during the wandering of the tradition through the neighborhood of the Franks. Besides, even the Jutes had no great reason for fearing the Franks. (Schück 43).

9. The expedition of the Geats against Gaul is an isolated incident, no link in a chain of unbroken relations like those between Geats and Swedes. Such a single expedition from Götland to Gaul might have taken place, just as Norwegians were sometimes seen operating in Frisland or Gaul. (Schück 42).

10. There is a most vivid description of the intercourse existing between Geats and Swedes, indicating that they were close neighbors. (Schück 41, Stjerna).

11. If the Geats in *Beowulf* meant Jutes, we should have

to account for the strange absence of any allusion to the powerful Göts, who lived between the Swedes and the Danes. (Schück 44).

12. The Göts of ancient times were certainly not the inland nation that Fahlbeck and his adherents maintain. And even if Götland is contiguous with Sweden, still the main intercourse between the two countries must in ancient times have been by water, over the great lakes Vättern and Vänern. (Schück 21ff., 32ff.).

13. The *Ynglingatal*, in reality, is neither Swedish nor Norwegian, but represents a version redacted in England by Danish vikings who desired to celebrate the victories of the Danes over the Swedes. That the redactors, far from the scene of events, should have transplanted Götic localities and persons to Jutland, is quite natural. Moreover this displacement was favored by the fact that the Swedish district of Vendel, which played an important part in the Geatic-Swedish struggle, had a namesake in Jutland. (Stjerna).

Schück and Stjerna have indeed set forth many arguments worthy of consideration. But there is one fact which cannot fail to impress the reader: notwithstanding that the collective evidence against their position is consistent, Schück and Stjerna undertake to undermine this consistency by a series of negative arguments too personal, or questionable, to inspire confidence.

2. The term "Danes" of Chochilaicus would have to be taken not in its most obvious sense.

8. The passage about the Franks threatening the Geats would have to be interpolated.

12. Intercourse "over the sea" would have to be construed to mean something different from "Intercourse between nations separated by the sea."

13. The *Ynglingatal* would not belong to the nationality to which it is by tradition ascribed. Its "Jutic" localities and persons would no longer be Jutic.

Do not the negations in this list seem extremely improbable? Let us now look carefully at single statements, many of which will prove even more conjectural.

1. Schück maintains that Geti (Goti) points toward

Göts, not toward Jutes. Of course it does, if we regard the modern spelling only. But at the very time of the event described, the Göts were "Gauts"; and the Jutes were "Eots," or something like that. Accordingly, the evidence of the vowels does not in reality favor the Göts. Moreover, we must remember that King Alfred in his translation of Orosius calls Jutland exactly "Gotland." And other instances seem to prove that names like "Geti" are little to be relied upon. In a manuscript mentioned by Kemble⁸ we find the following list of names,—Cinrincius, Gothus, Jutus, Suethedus, Dacus, Wandalus, Gethus, Fresus, Geatte,—said in the commentary to be the ancestors of nine nations which have conquered Britain: namely, the Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Vandals, Geats, and Frisians. However, the terms in this list may have been used originally, in its present form Gothus is evidently a doublet for Jutus, and Gethus and Geatte simply the triplet and quadruplet of the same name. Therefore it were best to leave Huiglac's "Geti" with a sign of interrogation.⁹

2. That *Danes* in Viking times often meant Scandinavians in general, is admitted. But what authority can be cited to support the claim that the name had already acquired this significance by the middle of the sixth century? The only fact in evidence is that the name of Danes was at that time beginning to spread beyond its original boundaries; the Danes had expelled the Herules (Jordanes), and the tribes on the Jutlandic peninsula were occasionally called Danish (Procopius). But the subordination of the name Jutes to that of Danes had not yet become a fixed rule; about the

⁸ Translation of Beowulf, London, 1837, preface, p. VIII.

⁹ The Icelandic author Snorri Sturluson, in his *Ynglinga Saga*, relates a tale about a Swedish king Hagleik who is slain by Starkad. It would at first glance seem likely enough that this was the Geatic Hygelác, who, as king of the Göts, had in epical tradition become a Swede because his country had been swallowed up by Sweden. But, in Saxo's version of the same tale (VI, 279), the corresponding person, Haglethus, is called King of Ireland (Hibernia), and he has nothing at all to do with Sweden. In Starkad's death song, the most authentic source of tradition about this hero, the episode in question does not occur. According to Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, II, 115ff., the whole episode of Hagleik in *Ynglingasaga* would be a late Norwegian fiction.

year 580 the Gallo-Roman court-poet Venantius refers to the Danes, Jutes (Euthiones), and Saxons side by side as neighbors of the Franconian territory; and about the year 550, the Franconian king Theodeberht relates the voluntary submission of the Saxons and Jutes (Eucii), making no mention of the Danes. Now, as a matter of fact, the said submission was an illusion, and Hygelác's expedition against Gaul about the year 520 remained for at least forty years the only epically celebrated meeting between Franks and Northmen. Its renown among western nations is testified to by the tale of the giant Huiglac, still remembered in the tenth century. And the defeat of the Danes near Bordeaux in the year 560, even though sung by the Gallo-Roman court-poet Venantius, never obtained the same epical importance. Therefore, if one of the two bands of invaders gave its name to the other, it must have been that of the year 520, and not that of the year 560.

3. Equations of ancient tribe names and modern place names, such as Wederas and Väder-öar, are very questionable, as long as the said place names do not belong to large, important districts. In the present case, Schück's equation may at least be balanced by the equation Wederas-Eudoses, where the correspondence to the tribe name is a tribe name itself. It may be added that the Eudoses no doubt lived in North Jutland, for here Ptolemy mentions a tribe Fundusioi, nowhere else spoken of, quite obviously a misreading of *Eudusioi; they are neighbors of the Charudes from whom the modern district name Har-syssel or Harthe-syssel is derived. About 60 B. C. Edusii (or Eudures) and Harudes followed the Swabians on their expedition to Gaul.

As for the more local details in *Beowulf* they can hardly be taken into account as being more than poetic fancies. If, for example, the Geatic country is said to be a rocky one, this description is not necessarily based upon geographical knowledge, nor is Götland indicated to the exclusion of Jutland, for the poet probably knew as little about that one country as the other, and derived his descriptive terms from his knowledge of the topography of English or French shores.¹⁰

¹⁰ Schück identifies Earnanaes (*Beowulf*), with Aranäs on the coast of North Halland. He thinks there is no corresponding name in Jutland. But there is at any rate an Arnaes on the coast of South Jutland.

4. A "state of Jutland" as balancing the "state of Denmark" is not the matter in question. Since antiquity knew neither the one nor the other, but only small independent tribes in Jutland as in all other Teutonic countries, there is nothing to prevent the assumption that such independent tribes still existed in the times of the Skjoldungs. "Geats" are not necessarily equivalent to "all the Jutes," but on the other hand may be only *one* of the Jutlandic tribes. The alliance between Geats and Skjoldungs may have been the first step toward the full union established later.

5. That the Swedish kings in Danish tradition are called by names quite different from those in the *Ynglingatal* is shown by Olrik in "Danmarks Heltedigtning." But the use made by Stjerna of these discrepancies is misleading; their bearing upon our problem is merely on the surface. In Danish, as in other Scandinavian traditions, the current of epical themes flows steadily from the south toward the north carrying with it southern heroic names to be transplanted upon northern soil. Thus a great number of homeless Gothic or Germanic heroes were turned into Norwegians or Swedes. And the result is that strange list of "Swedish" kings appearing in Saxo's epical books,—fictions indeed, quite different from the list of the *Ynglingatal*. This whole matter is irrelevant to the question whether or not Danish tradition knew the real Swedes. The question should rightly be stated thus: Who are the real Swedes mentioned in Danish epical tradition? Do they belong to the Beowulfian group or not? That is the question, and Stjerna's observation still leaves it without answer.

6. That a Götic poem could have had any interest for the Angles far away from the scene of the events described, when it did not interest such near neighbors as the Danes, is hardly to be imagined. This problem will be discussed separately below (p. 591ff.). But what about the much emphasized "dramatic character" of the Götic-Swedish conflict which *Beowulf* is supposed to describe? What is our authority? As far as the present writer can see there is but one significant authority, and that is exactly that "Geatic" poem of *Beowulf*, the Götic origin of which has first to be proved.

7. The supposition that Jutic nationality would of necessity involve close relations with the Saxons may at first glance seem plausible, but in reality is not borne out by facts. Even the Angles, on the continent, appear to have been allied to the Danes,—in the cult of Nerthus, for example, rather than to the Saxons. It was not until after the settlement in Britain that a close intercourse between Anglo-Jutes and Saxons developed. If we admit this there is nothing extraordinary about the silence as to the Saxons in *Beowulf*. Indeed, for that matter, there may be *some* traces of Geatic-Saxon intercourse in the poem. For Swerting, a relation of the Geatic princes can, not unlikely, be identified with the person of the same name whom Danish tradition calls a Saxon. Swerting's sons are represented as the murderers of the famous King Frode, and thus Swerting himself would, in Danish tradition, belong to about the same age as the Geats of *Beowulf*.

The presupposition that Jutic nationality would involve conflicts with the Bards is quite arbitrary. It is true that the insular Danes had to fight the Bards, but as the Geats and Danes were only allies, not members of one state, the Danes living in one section of the country might well have had a quarrel with certain of their neighbors without the interference of other sections.

8. That the passage 2911-2922 about lasting enmity between Geats and Franks has no constructive weight for the tradition is possible, but not strictly obvious. The Franks and their allies, in reality, are not mentioned in an incidental way like the Gepides, in line 2495, but repeatedly and with keen interest. That the Jutes, like the Göts, had no reason to fear the Franks, is strictly incorrect. There is an enormous difference between the Göts and the Jutes with respect to their relations with the Franks. Expeditions from Frankish territory against the land of the Göts were unheard of from pre-Christian times till after 1800, when Napoleon tried to attack the Swedes. But the inhabitants of Jutland were, since the beginning of the Christian era, repeatedly threatened by the powers then reigning in the country of the Franks. A Roman fleet, starting from about Frisia, com-

pelled the Cimbrians and Harudes to submission, A. D. 5. After the beginning of the 6th century, the Franks were constantly trying to follow in the steps of the Romans, operating among Saxons, Warines, and Swabians and other neighbors of the Jutes around the lower Elbe. The Gallo-Roman poet Venantius about the year 580 says that the Franks have made Saxons, Jutes and Danes tremble for their power. And only a few years after Hygelác's defeat, the Saxons and Jutes were actually compelled to do homage to his conqueror, King Theodeberht of North France, the Hug-Dietrich of German epos. Now, if we examine the Franco-Geatic relations in *Beowulf*, we shall find them corresponding exactly with the Franco-Jutic. The poem speaks only of a lasting enmity,—not of intimate personal relations such as existed between the Geats and Swedes. And how could it be otherwise? How could we expect *Beowulf* to mention personal relations which did *not* exist? *Beowulf*, as a matter of fact, seems to foreshadow the submission of the Jutes to the Franks about the year 550, and that is all we can expect. The correspondence between poem and history is so clear and unmistakable that it cannot be slighted, even if the "lasting enmity" between Geats and Franks had to be eliminated from the text of *Beowulf*, as an interpolation. The conclusion reached is that the theory of interpolation has more than one weak point. Not only does it belong to an already too long list of questionable negations against a consistent body of evidence, but, even if admitted, it proves insufficient as an argument against this evidence. We cannot deny the fact that the supposed interpolator regarded the Geats of *Beowulf* as neighbors of the Franks, that is to say, as Jutes,—or else he must have been more ignorant about political geography than we are allowed to suppose.

9. The assumed Götic undertaking against Gaul must surely have been an entirely isolated one, since we hear elsewhere nothing of Götic expeditions so far west. As a matter of fact the isolation is so remote that it becomes suspicious. (Cp. 10).

10. Of course, a close intercourse between Jutland and Sweden is not exactly what we expect—*a priori*. But to

Danish epical tradition the idea is not at all unfamiliar—compare the raid of a so-called Swedish King Adils upon South Jutland about the time of King Wermund. And in historical times it became simply a matter of fact. In the ninth century, a Swedish dynasty is known to have become established in South Jutland. Among the runic memorials raised over Swedish vikings, westward intercourse figures nearly as prominently as the eastward movement. England is mentioned directly about ten times. The inscription of Husby, for example, mentions a Swede Sven who died in Jutland on his way to England. Now, if the Swedes in the 9th century were settling in Jutland and making rather frequent trips as far west as England, the backward perspective quite naturally leads us to the conclusion that in the 6th century their operations upon Jutland had already begun. Some Swedish family might have settled among the Jutes, as the family of Waegmundings that went from Sweden to the Geats. And, when once settled, further relations between the emigrants and their home-land would naturally result. Other Swedes might follow their example just as Ongentheow's descendants provisionally followed the example of the Waegmundings.

11. If the foregoing conjecture is correct, it again explains why an Anglo-Saxon poem like *Beowulf* mentions the Swedes and not the Göts: the Swedes are mentioned as interfering with the neighbors of the Angle-Saxons; the Göts are left out as not interfering,—that is all.

12. That the expressions “over the sea,” “over the water” and so on, might be applied to passage over the great lakes of Svearike and Götland, is, perhaps, not strictly impossible, even though rather hard to reconcile with the import of the passages in question. But such a possibility has nothing to do with the question whether or not it is conceivable that the Göts of Skjoldungian times might undertake a maritime expedition as far west as Gaul; this question must be discussed apart.

That the Göts of Skjoldungian times had more western sea-coast than their descendents is, of course, possible. Schück may be right in assigning to them the later Norwegian province,

Bohuslän. But to make Adam of Bremen assign to them the province of Halland is too arbitrary to be allowed. And where, in truth, is the authority for extensive Geatic sea-faring and sufficient naval prowess to undertake to conduct the first fleet to the shores of western Europe? Schück makes no attempt to give evidence, and surely to do so would be a difficult task. As there is an hiatus in the arguments not only of Schück, but of all other contributors to the discussion it behooves us to endeavor to fill the gap by examination of evidences of sea-faring generally in the Baltic.

As regards the Swedes, the evidence is most venerable. The Roman writer Tacitus, in the first century after Christ, praises their naval skill: "they are strong by means of armed men and fleets"; it is the only place where Tacitus mentions Teutonic sea-faring in the whole of his "Germania."¹¹ *Beowulf* and *Ynglingatal* show that the Swedish sea-faring of the sixth century had not degenerated; its sphere of enterprise, according to *Ynglingatal*, extends from Estonia to North Jutland. The poem of the battle of Bråvalla, that general rendezvous of Scandinavian heroes, represents the Swedish king's fleet as composed of Swedes and Gothlanders only. Danish tradition records the raids of a Swedish king into South Jutland and the battle between King Hagleth and two Swedish vikings. The rune-stones mention numerous Swedish vikings who perished abroad. And their expeditions were directed not only against the coast directly opposite Sweden ("austr"), but also towards western countries ("vestr"). There are about thirty-five rune-stones recording expeditions towards the east, very often reaching Greece, twice even Italy; in this number we do not count above ten rune-stones mentioning people who took part in one of these expeditions, namely, that of Ingvar. There are about twenty-five rune-stones mentioning expeditions towards the west,—in nine cases referring directly to England or its neighborhood. Such expeditions resulted in the provisional establishment of a Swedish king in South Jutland.

Regarding other Baltic nations, the evidences of sea-far-

¹¹ Adam of Bremen praises the Swedish armies and fleets in words suggesting those of Tacitus; but here, also, the Göts could be included, as he reckons Götland as part as Sweden.

ing do not go quite as far back, but still there is a fairly venerable tradition, when taken collectively. The Herules ravaged Gaul and Spain from the 3rd to the 5th centuries, at the same time also, ravaging the shores of the Black Sea and of the Archipelago. Rugians (from Pomerania) are named as their followers towards western shores in the fourth century, and the memory of their undertakings still lives in the tale of King Hagen whom *Widsith* calls "King of the Holm-Rugians." The Jutes follow in the fifth and sixth centuries, the eastern Danes after 560.

We hear, too, of Danish expeditions to Sweden. For example, about the year 980, the exiled Swedish Prince Styrbjörn in making his unfortunate attempt to conquer Sweden was turned back by a Danish army, and not less than three rune-stones in Skåne refer to the participation of the Danes in this fight. Another rune-stone in Skåne mentions an expedition to Gothland, and a rune-stone in Lollard mentions an expedition to Sweden. Adam of Bremen tells of the vast amount of gold gathered by the Vikings on Seeland.

Thus we see that the sea-faring of Baltic nations from earliest times to the Viking age is well authenticated. Now what about the *Göts*? If they had taken part in the expeditions to any great extent, this fact would have been recorded. They are conspicuous only by their absence. Tacitus does not mention them with the Swedes. From antiquity we know simply their name (Goutai, Ptolemy). Jordanes in the sixth century and Adam of Bremen in the eleventh attribute little importance to the Göts as compared to the Swedes. The Bråvallian list of warriors places the Göts among the infantry, not among the marine forces. Danish traditions never mention Götic vikings, and the Göts, on the whole, play a very inconspicuous part. There are hardly a dozen rune-stones mentioning Götic vikings or transmarine intercourse, five pointing eastward, four pointing west: one rune-stone at Hobro in North Jutland; three rune-stones mentioning vikings fallen in England. We know of no historical Götic expedition towards England or Gaul corresponding to the Swedish expedition to South Jutland. The Götic capital Skara mentioned by Adam of Bremen has an extremely inland po-

sition. Under these circumstances we must declare: The collective evidence shows that the Göts from ancient times were a decidedly inland people. That these people could undertake such an expedition as that recorded by Hygelác is inconceivable. Whereas this expedition, if Jutic, would fit in with a tradition already unbroken for centuries, it would, if Götic be a first step on a new course—the beginning of naval engagements between the Scandinavian peninsula and western Europe. That, surely, was not the achievement of untrained men like the Göts, but rather of experienced sailors like the Jutes.

13. Stjerna places great emphasis on the statement that *Ynglingatal* was redacted in England. We shall not venture upon a criticism of this statement, although an expert like Finnur Jónsson has strongly denied its possibility. But, taking the Anglo-Scandian origin of *Ynglingatal* for granted,—what guarantee have we that its author was a Dane? He might quite as well have been a Norwegian, and, in reality, the poem has not the faintest trace of anything pointing towards the so-called “Danicizing tendency,”—apart from exactly those Jutlandic localities the Götic origin of which has first to be proved.

So much for the objections to Fahlbeck's theory. Notwithstanding all this, we believe his theory is still held in favor. Its foundations remain unshaken,—the consistent evidence of four different nations from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. In support of it, no violence to the existing texts is required. There are no names or characters to be dispensed with as epical disguises or interpolations. The only circumstance which might seem difficult to explain is the close intercourse between tribes so remote from one another as the Swedes and Jutes. But the actual existence of this intercourse is certified by the documentary evidence that, during the Viking age, many Swedes touched even English shores, and that a Swedish kingdom was established for nearly a century in South Jutland.

The objections, then, to Fahlbeck's theory seem not to be sufficiently assuring; nor do the independent arguments of his opponents appear any more convincing. As has been

said, the theory favoring the Göts cannot make use of the texts as they stand, but must resort to conjectures and interpolations. The suggestion that an out-of-the-way theme like that of a Götic-Swedish conflict would be of interest to remote and mightier peoples to the south, is contrary to the usual epical trend which moves from the south toward the north, and not in the opposite direction.

No, the assumption that a tribe like the Göts, in a measure continental, should lead the first great expedition from the Scandinavian peninsula to Gaul, is contrary to all we know about the history of sea-faring.

In the writer's opinion, the above statements would be already sufficient to settle the matter; but if further evidence is available, it will, of course, be more than welcome. And, surely, there remains a mass of evidence accessible to us.

First, the history of epical literature among the different nations concerned has yet to be more methodically examined than hitherto, especially its geographical side, which has been greatly neglected. Secondly, there is a sort of evidence heretofore almost completely ignored, namely, the ethnical significance of the names of persons. It is the first of these two propositions which the remainder of the present paper will attempt to outline.

The geography of literary themes, epical as well as others, is only a special region of the geographical horizon taken as a whole. Such a horizon, in all its epical, mythical, and commercial variations, was made, seventy-eight years ago, the object of serious study by the Danish philologist Niels Mathias Petersen, who in 1834 published his *Handbook of Old Northern Geography*.¹² His work deserved to become the cornerstone of a special branch of study, but, unfortunately, it passed over the heads of his contemporaries. Since Petersen's time, little has been accomplished in developing this new science; we can mention Mommsen's investigation of the geographical horizon in the works of the Gothic historian Jordanes; Heinzel's and Matthäi's studies of the horizon of Gothic epics; and the works of Bugge, of Olrik, and of Chad-

¹² *Haandbog i den gammel-nordiske Geografi*, Copenhagen, 1834.

wick.¹³ Recently, following the course indicated by N. M. Petersen, I have myself undertaken, in several books and treatises, to determine the geography of epic themes.¹⁴ In these researches I have used several technical terms which should be introduced here, in order to make the following discussion sufficiently precise:

Symporia, sphere of intercourse or communication (Danish *Samfærds-kres*, *Samfærdssfare*).

Synsopia, geographical horizon (Dan. *Synskres*, *Synssfare*).

Intrazona, inner zone (Dan. *Inderzone*).

Mediozona, mid zone (Dan. *Midzone*).

Ultrazona, outer zone (Dan. *Yderzone*).

Ignotozona, unknown zone (Dan. *Ukendtzone*).

In the present investigation our special theme is the epic geography of the Anglo-Saxons and their neighbors. It will be necessary to discuss: A. The general direction or current of epic themes; B. The Anglo-Saxon horizon. We ought also to study the Danish and Norwegian horizons, but this must be left for another occasion.

It is a well authenticated fact that among the "Goth-folk," the Teutons, the general trend or current of epic themes flowed strongly from south to north. Our Teutonic ancestors had not the brilliant and original imagination of the Celts, allowing them to interest their mightier neighbors of southern Europe in an Arthurian cycle and out-of-the-way themes from the Northern outer zone. On the contrary, the ancient Teutons adopted rather mechanically Southern themes of epics, just as their descendants adopt Southern modes of

¹³ Especially S. Bugge, *Studier over nordiske Gude-og Heltesagn*, Christiania, 1881-96 (part translations into English and German); A. Olrik, *Kilderne til Sages Oldhistorie*, Copenhagen, 1892-94; H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge, 1907.

¹⁴ S. Schütte, *Über die alte politische Geographie der nicht-klassischen Völker Europas*, *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, XV, 211-336, 1903; *Anganty-Kvadets Geografi*, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, XXI, 30-44, 1905; *Oldsagn om Godtjod, vore Forfædres Land, Folk, Race*, Copenhagen, 1907 (a doctoral dissertation on the horizon of the "Goth-folk," i. e. the Teutons); *En historisk Parallel til Nibelung-Sagnet*, *Ark. f. nord. filol.* XXIV, 1-15, 1908; review of Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, *Ark. f. nord. filol.* XXV, 310-332, 1909.

dress. The exceptions are very rare, the most notable being the tale of Högni, Hedinn, and Hildir, which wandered apparently from Northern shores up the Rhine to upper Germany.

What is the application of this principle to our special issue? Obviously the general northward current of epic tradition would easily carry a Jutic or Danish theme to Norway or Sweden; the transportation of a Götic-Swedish theme, however, southward to Denmark or England, would be an exception, in reality dead against the current. True, it is quite conceivable that the Anglo-Saxons and Danes would take an interest in a struggle between "Geats" and *Franks*, no matter who the Geats were; for the Franks were the greatest power within the Anglo-Danish horizon, and the Frankish struggle with the Geats lived on within that very southern zone of tradition¹⁵ which was the most popular source of importations into Northern epics. On the other hand, it is not obvious that Anglo-Saxons and Danes would be interested in a struggle between "Geats" and Swedes if the former were actually *Göts*. For both Swedes and *Göts* lived in an out-of-the-way country, which is hardly ever known to have forced its epical themes against the general current running from south to north.

To pass to the question of the Anglo-Saxon horizon, we have first to ask, how far did the Anglo-Saxon horizon extend toward the north-east. More precisely, did its inner or mid-zone include Sweden sufficiently to make a vivid interest for Götic-Swedish relations conceivable?

A negative answer has already been indicated by Fahlbeck, whose remarks are still worth careful consideration. "The tale of Beowulf," says Fahlbeck, "must evidently have originated within that nation whose hero he was. But how has the tale passed from Götland to England? And how has an Anglian poet conceived the idea of composing the poem which we now possess? Several attempts have been made to explain this, but with little success. No emigration took place from Götland to England;¹⁶ but without such an emigration,

¹⁵ Cf. the Phædrus manuscript, see p. 577.

¹⁶ Although many single Swedes went to England during the viking period, there is no record of a viking raid or whole expedition led by Swedes (the *Göts* included) so far west.

and a large one, the wandering of the tale to the great western isle is hardly conceivable. When the skald composed his poem, which must have happened in the beginning, or at latest, in the middle of the eighth century, he took his theme immediately from the people. But it seems undeniable that in England it was originally a popular possession of no other nation than exactly that people who regarded it as their peculiar property. That it later passed from its original owners to their neighbors with whom the former were soon amalgamated to one nation, the Anglo-Saxon,—this fact can be freely admitted. But with a band of its original owners it must have passed over the sea, and only so has it secured a domicile in England.”¹⁷

There is, *a priori*, considerable probability in Fahlbeck's statements, but of course they must be controlled more exactly before a decided answer can be given. We must search for evidence which gives a more accurate idea of the Anglo-Saxon horizon during the age in question. Fortunately the Anglo-Saxon horizon is extremely apparent; it merely has not yet been examined methodically.

The most rational proceeding would be an examination of the Anglo-Saxon sea-faring, trade, and exterior politics during the migration age. Such a method has been outlined by Mr. Chadwick in his most valuable research into the origins of the English nation. If followed out, it will surely give our ideas of ethnic development the solid foundation hitherto eagerly awaited. But we cannot here enter upon the details which such researches would involve. We should be led too far afield. We must confine our attention to those traces of the geographical horizon of the Anglo-Saxons which are left in their epic literature and personal names.

The principal source of Anglo-Saxon geographical traditions in ancient times is that curious poem called the *Widsith* (“Wide-traveller”); supplementary material is found in the poems of *Beowulf* and *Finn*.

The poem of *Widsith*, or rather those three poems which are amalgamated into the collection so named, is composed in the didactic style once familiar to all “Goth-folk,” but later

¹⁷ Fahlbeck, *Beovulf*sqvädet 37-8.

conserved only among the authors of the Old Norse Eddic lays and skaldic poems. The *Widsith* consists of long lists of princes and nations, chiefly the dry, naked names, now and then interrupted by a few lines describing either the most celebrated nations of Europe or peoples near akin to the Anglo-Saxons. The three parts of the collection are arranged after rather different schemes: the first part as a sort of "Almanach de Gotha" or epical "Who's Who," the second as an itinerary, the third as a catalogue of "Gothic nobility" (*ethel Gotena*),—"Gothic" meaning here the same as Teutonic. There are several anachronisms within each of the three parts, and several chronological discrepancies between one part and another. There is also a sort of national discrepancy, the first part sympathizing with the Angles against the Myrgings, the second part being attributed to a poet from the latter nation. But however different the three parts may be in scheme and details, throughout all of them we observe the stamp of a firm geographical tradition, an exact attention to epical and political rank. By means of this evidence we can determine the zones of the Anglo-Saxon horizon in its different aspects.

First we shall have to examine the *commercial-political* horizon. It is contained in Part II of the *Widsith* collection, the itinerary through the Gothic world of the migration age. We shall now sum up the groups of nations, tribes, and noble families mentioned therein.

I. First and second class powers in Europe, "Gothic" and "non-Gothic" nationality not differentiated; those printed in italics are distinguished by mention and praise of their regents: Huns, *Goths*, *Burgundians*, Franks, Romans, *Greeks*.

II. "Non-Gothic" nations, less renowned than those in group I: Finns, Skrid-Finns, Piets, Scots, Bretons, Slavs (Saracens; Serings, Chinese interpolated?)

III. "Gothic" nations from the remoter coasts of the Atlantic, the Kattegat, and the Baltic; Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, Reamas (Norway), Göts, Swedes, Rugians, Glommas, Gepides, Vandals.

IV. "Gothic" nations, tribes, and noble families in the nearer neighborhood of the poet's country; Longobards (in

Germany), Thuringians, Frisians, Hundings, Swabes, Siggs, Saxons, Angles, Varines, Danes.

V. The poet's countrymen and their friends, distinguished by the most detailed mention and praise of their regents: Myrgings and Longobards (in Italy).

The Myrgings probably lived east of the lower Elbe in the present Brandenburg, which was in ancient times called Maurunga; the Anglo-Saxon form Myrkingas or Myrjingas can be derived from *Mauriungoz. The district extends a little farther toward the south than the home of the Anglo-Saxons, but on the whole we may regard the Myrjing horizon as identical with the Anglo-Saxon.

From the above list we learn that the commercial-political horizon of the nations beyond the lower Elbe extended certainly as far as the Scandinavian peninsula, even as far north as Trondhjem; whereas to the south so little notice was taken of near and rather important neighbors, as for example the Hesses, Allemans, and Bavarians, that they were not mentioned in the list at all. This fact would agree fairly well with the supposition that the inner zone of the Anglo-Saxon horizon included the Scandinavian peninsula; hence the Anglo-Saxons might take a vivid interest in dramas played as far north as that between the Göts and Swedes.

The commercial-political horizon, however, is not the same as the epical, and we can draw no sure conclusion as long as we have not compared the two. The *epical* horizon of the Anglo-Saxons is contained in Parts I and II of the *Widsith* collection. Part III is of least value for our present research, as it represents a cycle of foreign origin, mostly Ostrogothic, grouped around the giant figure of king Ermanric. It affords another example of that enormous preponderance of southern tradition which is manifest in all other branches of Teutonic epic literature. Far more valuable for us is part I. It is, on the whole, constructed after a scheme relatively parallel to part II; aside from the discrepancies caused by the opposite national point of view, we find a corresponding arrangement as to rank and precedence:—

I. First and second class powers in Europe, "Gothic" and "non-Gothic" nationalities not discriminated; distinguished

by their place in the first three lines: Huns, Goths, Burgundians, Greeks, Finns. (The Banings=Sarmates (?) are admitted probably only for the reason that in epical lists they formed an alliterating pair with the Burgundians).

II. "Gothic" nations from the remoter coasts of the North Sea, Kattegat, and Baltic: Franks, Hattuarians, Swedes, Rugians, Glommas.

III. "Gothic" nations, tribes, and noble families in the nearer neighborhood of the poet's country: Longobards, Thuringians, Hælsings, Hundings, Brandings, Siggs, Ymbras, Hokings, Wylfings, Eowas, Jutes, Varines.

IV. "Gothic" nations, especially mentioned as foes of the poet's countrymen or of their friends: Myrgings, Swabes, Frisians, Heatho-Bards.

V. The poet's countrymen and their friends, distinguished by the most detailed mention and praise of their regents: Angles and Danes; among the latter, two or three separate royal families are named.

If we now compare the commercial-political horizon with the epical horizon which we have just examined, we shall find their zones partly corresponding, but we cannot help being impressed by the difference in some important points, especially with regard to Scandinavia. Toward the south, it is obvious that the limit of the inner zone is the same; apart from the first class powers, such as Huns and Goths, no names from upper Germany are mentioned, not even from regions a short distance from the centre of the horizon. But toward the north, the disagreement is undeniable; where part II had Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, Reamas, Göts, and Swedes, part I has Swedes only. The inner zone evidently includes the Danes, but here the continuous material stops; quite sporadically a glance seems to fall upon the Swedes, and no mention at all is made of that nation which, according to Schück and Stjerna, would have been the object of the most vivid interest, namely the Göts.

The objection might be raised that a single poem like *Widsith* I is not sufficient to decide the limits of inner or mid zone in Anglo-Saxon epic geography; if we had more evidence it might confirm the political horizon contained in *Wid-*

sith II. This possibility must be admitted. But why confine ourselves to vague conjectures, if we can obtain a concise answer from the material itself? In fact we can easily obtain such an answer; we need only examine the collective evidence of Anglo-Saxon epical literature. Of course it might lead too far if we should consider every sort of material. We can, however, limit the selection by a very simple restriction; we will accept only such names as are epically renowned, preferring those which can be identified through coinciding evidence from other Teutonic literatures. The material thus selected is set forth below:—

HUNS

Ætla = Attila; an epic account of his attack on the Goths in the woods near the river Vistula is quoted in *Widsith* III. This account corresponds to the Northern theme of the attack of the Huns on the Goths in the Myrkvith forest (*Hervararsaga*); this passage will be cited below as the Myrkvith Fight.

Blædla = Attila's brother Bleda, the duke Bloedelin in the *Nibelungenlied*.

Elsa (Wid. III, among Eormanric's men) perhaps = Esla, one of Atilla's officials; Ilsán in German epos.

GOTHS

Eastgota, and his son Unwen (W III) = Ostrogotha, eponymical ancestor of Gothic kings, and his son (H) Unuil (Jordanes).

Eormanric (W I, II, III *Beowulf*) = Ermanric, the most renowned Gothic king before Theodoric the Great.

Wudga (W III) = Vidigoja, the great Gothic champion (Jordanes); Wittich in German epos, belonging to Ermanric's cycle.

Hama (W III, *Beow.*) = Wittich's companion Heime, who according to *Beowulf*, stole Ermanric's greatest treasure.

Heathoric (W, III) = the Gothic king Heithrek in the Myrkvith Fight; the identification is established by the surrounding persons,—Sifeca, Hlith, Ongentheow = Sifka, Hlōthr, Angantyr.

Wyrmore the With-Myrging, Gothic champion fighting against the Huns near the Vistula (W III) = Ormarr, Gothic champion fighting in Myrkvith against the Huns.

Wulfhere, Wyrmore's companion (W III) = Wolfhart, one of the Gothic king Dietrich's knights in German epos.

Freotheric (W III) = Friderich, one of Ermanric's victims in German epos, perhaps = the Gothic martyr Frithureiks, who seems to have been burned by the Gothic chieftain Athanarik.

Randhere (W III) = Randvér, another of Ermanric's victims, according to Northern epos.

Rædhere (W III) = Randvér's father Radbard in the *Hyndluljóth*; perhaps again = Radbard the Russian, of Northern epos. ("Russian" means "belonging to eastern Europe").

Rumstan (W III) = Rumstein, belonging to Ermanric's circle in German epos.

Theodric (*Deor's Lament*) = Theodoric the Great; Dietrich von Bern in German epos.

BURGUNDIANS

Gifeca (W I) = Gibica of the Burgundian Law, reappearing in the *Nibelungenlied*.

Guthhere (W II, *Waldere*) = Gundaharius (the same).

Gislhere (W III) = Gislaharius (the same).

We may add some persons of doubtful nationality belonging to the cycle of the Nibelungs:—

Sigemund and his son Fitela (Beow.) = Sigemund and Sin-fjötli.

Hagena and Waldere (*Waldere*) = Högni and Waltharius.

BANINGS

Becca (W I, III) = Beuca, king of the Sarmates in Pannonia, fighting against the Goths (Jordanes) = Bicco, king of Livonia, a treacherous person belonging to the cycle of

	Ermanric (Saxo) (Alfred the Great places the Sarmates in Livonia).
HERELINGS	Emerca and Fridla (W III) = Ambrico and Fridilo, two of Ermanric's victims in German epos.
GREEKS AND ROMANS	Casere (W I and II) = Cæsar, "the emperor"; in Northern epos Kiar, king of the Walas. Ongentheow (W III) = Agecius; Aëtius in Gaul; Angantýr, king of the Goths, fighting against the Huns (Myrkvith).
FINNS	Cælic (W I) = Kalevipoeg or Kalev, the hero of the Finnish national poem, <i>Kalevala</i> .
FRANKS	Hlithe (W III) = Chlodio in Gaul = Hlōthr (Myrkvith). Sifeca (W III) = Sibicho of German epos, Sifka (Myrkvith Fight,—here a woman!). Theodric <i>se Huga</i> (W I) = Theodeberht; Hug-Dietrich of German epos,—the conquerer of Hygelác the Geat. Hun, prince of the Hattuarians, near the Rhine (W I), perhaps = Hun, prince of Saxony, mentioned in connection with the Rhine (Saxo, V).
FRISIANS	Finn, Folkwald's son (W I, Beow., Finnsburg Fragment) = a famous Frisian chieftain, Fin, remembered in North Frisian tradition.
HOCINGS	Hoce (Finnsburg Fragment) = Huochi, ancestor of the king; Hökingr or Hōklingr, a sea king in Northern tradition. Hnæf (W I, Finnsburg, Beow.) = Hnabi, the son of Huochi; Ey-nef in Northern epos. Hildburh (Finnsburg, Beow.) = Hildeburg.
RUGIANS	Hagena (W I) = German Hagene in <i>Kudrun</i> , Northern Hōgni.
GLOMMAS OR HEODEN- INGAS	*Heoden (W I, Deor's Lament) = German Hetel in <i>Kudrun</i> , Northern Hethinn. Heorrenda (Deor's Lament) = German Hórant in <i>Kudrun</i> , Northern Hjarrandi.

HÆLSINGS	Wada (W I) = German Wate in <i>Kudrun</i> .
MYRGINGS (in Saxony)	Eadgils and his queen Ealhild (W II); compare the "Swedish" king Athisl, attacking king Wermund in South Jutland (Saxo); also the Swedish king Adils, married to a daughter of queen Aloh of Saxony (<i>Ynglinga Saga</i> c. 28); also a chieftain Atli married with Aloh of Svafaland = Saxony (Prose of <i>Helgakvitha Hjorvardsonar</i>).
LANGOBARDS (In southern Europe)	Ægelmund (W III) = Agilmund. Eadwine (W II and III) and his son Alfwine (W II) = Auduin and his son Albuin.
SIGGS (A Saxon tribe)	Sigeferd or Eæferd (W I, Finnsburg, Beow.) perhaps = Sigfrid, a Saxon chieftain (Saxo).
NORTH-UMBRIANS	Swerting (Pedigree) perhaps = Swerting, a Saxon chieftain (Saxo).
HEATHOBARDS	Froda and his son Ingeld (W I, Beow.) = Frotho and his son Ingellus (Saxo); German Fruote in <i>Kudrun</i> . "eald æscwiga" (Beow.) = Starkad in Northern epos.
GEWISSES (West Saxons)	Freawine and his son Wig (Pedigree) = Frovin and his son Wigo, earls of Sleswig (Saxo).
ANGLES	Wathol-Geat, Wihtlæg, Wærmund, Offa (Pedigree, W I, Beow.) = Ger-Wendel, Wigleth, Wermund, Uffo (Saxo).
JUTES	Hengest and Horsa (Bede). *Hunlaf, Guthlaf, and Ordla, companions of the Danish chieftain Hengest (Finnsburg) = Hunleifus, Gunnleifus, and Oddleifus, sons of the Danish king Leif (<i>Skjoldunga-saga</i> , suggested by Chadwick).
DANES	Heremod (Beow.) perhaps = Hartmuot, king of Normanie at the time of Fruote (<i>Kudrun</i>).

Scyld, Healfdene, Hróthgár, Hálga, Heoroweard, Hróthulf, and Hréthric (W I, Beow.)
= Skjold, Hálvdan, Hróarr, Helgi, Hartvar, Hrólfr, Hrörik of Northern epical tradition.

Sigehere (W I) = Sigar, the head of the Siblings, father of the renowned Signe, Haggard's love.

Alewih (W I, Beow.) and his descendents Onela, Ohthere, Eánmund, and Eádgils = Egill (?) (Angantýr?), Ali, Óttarr, (H) Ömoth, Adils, in Northern tradition.

After examining this collective evidence let us again ask: To which horizon does it correspond, to *Widsith* II or to *Widsith* I? There can be no doubt about the answer: the collective evidence corresponds to the horizon of *Widsith* I. It corresponds to *Widsith* II only where *Widsith* I does the same.

We observe that the inner zone of the Anglo-Saxon toward Germany never exceeds that rather narrow limit which we determined within both of these poems. There had in reality been reason enough for a vivid epical interest in this direction. The Saxons on the continent about Beowulf's time led a war of extermination against their German neighbors, the Thuringians, and this drama was celebrated not only in their own epics, but even in the cycle of the Nibelungs; from that time and for centuries they fought also against the Franks, until the Franks finally overcame them, and this conflict also was epically celebrated. But of all these highly dramatic themes hardly a single trace has been found among the Anglo-Saxons; the only one of which I know is the tale of how the Saxons are named after their treacherous use of their swords (*saxes*) against their foes,—a motive which is applied to the Saxon-Thuringian war as well as to that between Saxons and Britons. From the parts of Germany lying directly south of Old Saxony still fewer traces are found in Anglo-Saxon epics; an example might be the tale of how the Herelings stole the collar of Brising, if Brising can really be applied to the Brisi-Gau in Upper Germany. But this tale is amalgamated with the cycle of Ermanric and is rather to be placed within the store of those highly celebrated Gothic

themes which became the globe-trotters in the epics of all Teutons; and if so, it cannot be used as an evidence of special Anglo-Saxon connections with upper Germany.

So far, then, as the southern zone is concerned, the collective evidence agrees with *Widsith* II not less than with *Widsith* I. But when we turn toward the north, the situation assumes quite a different appearance; here the collective evidence agrees with *Widsith* I only. We find the inner zone extending undoubtedly as far as the Danish islands; and in reality the interest for these regions must be regarded as a very vivid one, since not less than three or four dynasties are recorded. Going farther north we find the Swedes rather well represented. But the list of Swedes is confined to those Beowulfian characters whose sphere of action lay mainly outside Sweden in that mysterious Geatic territory which is the subject of our investigation. Moreover there is no single representative of those Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, and Reamas, mentioned in *Widsith* II; if any allusion is made to these tribes, as to the Reamas in *Beowulf*, it is merely casual. And the only representative of the Göts whom we can discover there remain those Beowulfian Geats whose Götic nationality has first to be proved. This situation corresponds exactly to *Widsith* I, which mentions the Swedes but leaves out the Throwendas, Hæredas, Hædnas, Reamas, and even the Göts.

Now we have drawn much nearer to our conclusion. The evidence of the Anglo-Saxon horizon as a whole seems to allow only one answer. We have seen that the Anglo-Saxons paid little attention to a highly dramatic war of extermination fought between the continental Saxons and the Thuringians in the immediate neighborhood of their own homestead, and celebrated in the epics of a nation so much imitated as the Franks. Under such circumstances it would have been quite miraculous if they had heeded a much less dramatic war, fought between nations in an out-of-the-way country, elsewhere recorded only casually within their geographical horizon. We are compelled then to believe that the war in question was fought out in their immediate neighborhood, that is to say, in *Jutland*. The collective evidence confirms our suggestion above that the Swedes are so well represented in *Beowulf* not because the Anglo-

Saxon inner zone reached Sweden, but because those Swedes who fought in Jutland *brought themselves within* the Anglo-Saxon inner zone. Thus the Anglo-Saxon epical horizon supports in a remarkable way the evidence that the Geats of Beowulf were one and the same people as the Jutes of Jutland.

Copenhagen.

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